

# The Soviet Ark Departs Amid Rousing Cheers

## Deportations of Anarchists Are Approved and More Are Called For

"WE GO, but we return," announced Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, as they boarded the transport Buford, to sail, with their 247 companions, to that land which they have pointed out as a model to this country. The country is frankly overjoyed to see them go, and is not concerned over their return. "They will not return," says "The Washington Evening Star." "They have had their day, much too long a day, in America. They should have been deported years ago. It is inconceivable that such creatures will ever be tolerated in this country again. We are on to their kind, and conditions are such that the gates must be shut against them."

Along with the rejoicings that speed the parting guests the hope is generally expressed that the Buford will prove to be the first of a new transatlantic service, which will not cease until there has been a substantial diminution in the number of these alien agitators. We have been too slow already, in the opinion of "The Providence Journal," too much time has been wasted in rounding up the "Reds" and listening to their "reasons" for continued permission to stay here and attack our institutions:

### The Faster the Better

"The 'Reds' are entitled to no consideration whatever; the faster they are jailed and sent out of the country the better it will be for the American people; the disposal of the first lot gives a precedent worth following. The number at large is very great, and the government should continue with vigor the work thus well begun."

"The ghost of old-time resentment against anti-sedition laws no longer should serve as a bogey to frighten the nation against necessary legislation for self-protection," advises "The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin." "There is a difference be-

tween preaching free speech and revolution. The present anarchist propaganda is just as dangerous as the German propaganda of Bernstorff and his associates and should be treated with equal severity."

### Entire Country Praises

This frame of mind, as shown in the House of Representatives by its unanimous passing of the deportation bill, meets with praise from almost the entire country. "The Providence Journal" (Rep.), "The Philadelphia Inquirer" (Rep.), "The Pittsburgh Gazette-Times" (Rep.) and "The New York Times" (Dem.) agree that the situation needed severer laws to include all varieties of alien revolutionists . . . not only, warns "The Times," those guilty of the overt act but "the propagandist in the press, the helper with the purse as well as the maker of the bomb." "The Pittsburgh Gazette-Times," however, does not consider that this beginning of actual deportation will explain the previous "inexcusable delay," and asks for light on the suspicion that the government has been harboring people of radical sympathies. "The time is opportune for the President to uncover what the Department of Labor would keep secret." "The Philadelphia Inquirer" would have the Bolshevik "Ambassador," Martens, head the next passenger list.

"The New York World," which has been warning against too stringent sedition laws, approves of this one, but advises a liberal construction. After all, the law should favor true liberalism:

"It is rash to predict how the new law will serve. The rule it seeks to apply should be rather favorable than otherwise to that broad liberalism in progress which most Americans desire. No proposal of governmental change is so radical that it cannot be sought by constitutional methods. The counter menace of Tory reaction will be less potent if the enemies of the peo-

ple's republic are deprived of their power to inspire terror and invite chaos."

The deportees, of course, have protested vigorously against the government's harshness, but their complaints have called forth no sympathy except from radical papers. "The New York Times" explains their reluctance to leave thus:

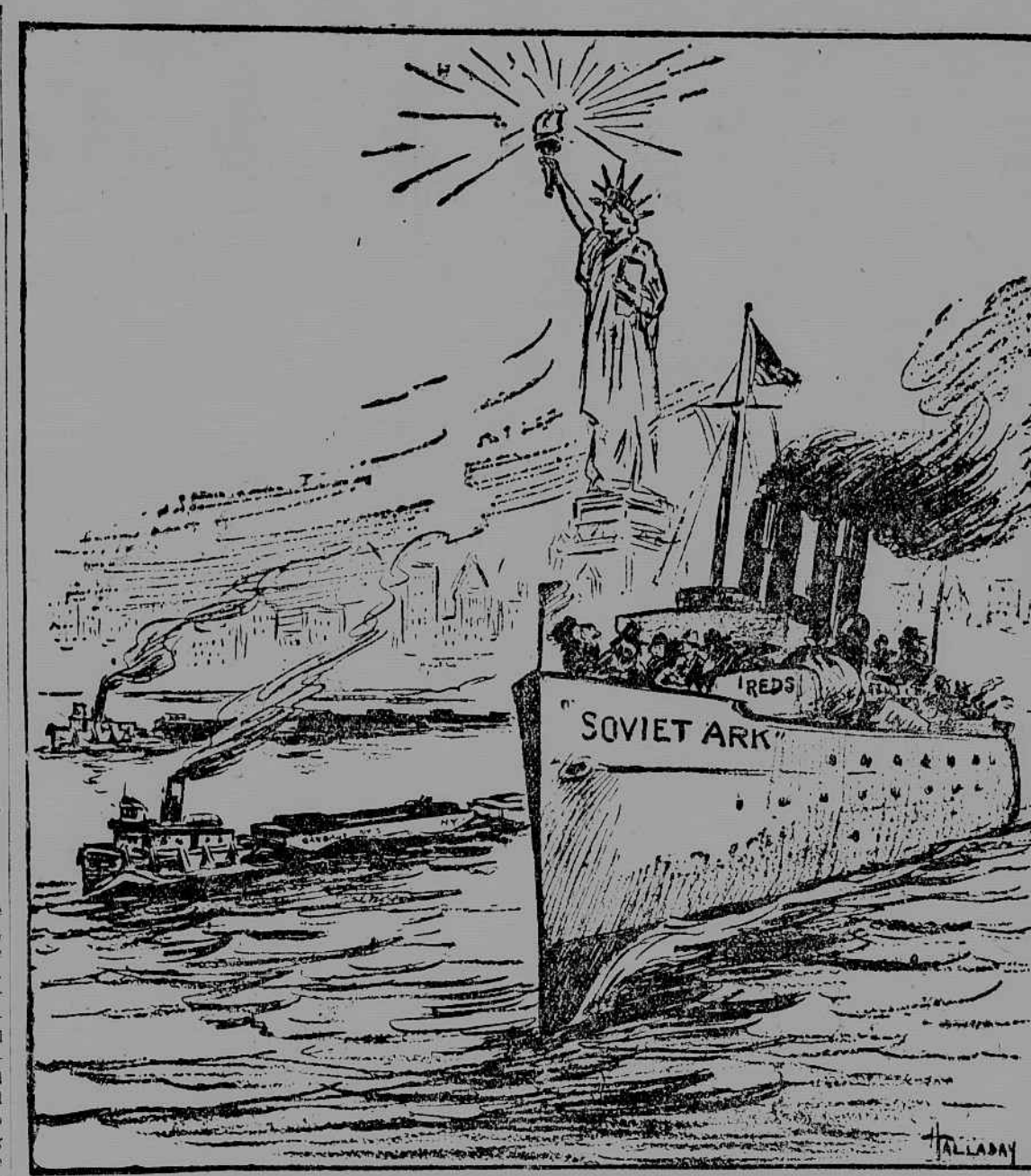
"In what other 'bourgeois' commonwealth can they live so well, meet with so much official tolerance or long suffering, make so much noise and money? They are carried from our shores, kicking and screaming, so to speak. In a proletarian state they cannot hope to eat of the fat and drink of the sweet, nor will their vanity long be made happy by the sound of the trumpets of notoriety."

Rather than complain, reminds "The New York Evening Sun," they should be thankful that America, being good-natured and disinclined to severity, has adopted so mild a method as deportation . . . in contrast to Russia, where 350 have been executed for complicity in an anti-Bolshevik plot. "The Hartford Courant" notices how well off they all seemed, especially Emma Goldman, with her "rich furs and fine raiment," and she was not the only "anarchist-capitalist" who sailed on the Buford.

### A Prosperous Bunch

"It was a prosperous bunch that the Buford took away. All of them, or at least the great majority of them, came to America poor and unsuccessful. Here they evidently prospered, either as professional agitators or as beneficiaries of the country's industrial prosperity. While they were prospering and exchanging their cheap and tattered garments for well made and well fitting clothes and were laying up money in banks they were denouncing the land in which they had found the means to improve so materially their condition and were striving to upset the system that provided them with protection and opportunity."

"The Providence Journal" is not at all concerned over the prospect that all this property will be confiscated on arrival in Soviet Russia. To think that, as Russia is so dangerous a place, we should let them stay here and continue their revolutionary work! What happens to them after their landing is none of our concern. They are "despondent



The Garbage Fleet

—From The Providence Journal.

voyagers for Utopia," thinks "The New York Sun," although, if we are to believe their praises of Russia as a land of perfection they should be overjoyed at the prospect of going there. "The Washington Evening Star" speculates on what may happen when they get here. They are mainly orators and soapbox agita-

tors, of which Russia has had quite enough. The Soviet government needs constructive ability, not words, just now. The new arrivals will sink into obscurity; they cannot pose as martyrs in a land already full of them.

One of the few dissenting notes in the joy felt at their departure is

found in "The New York Evening World," which fears that a drastic policy against agitators will result in swinging popular sympathy to their side, as shown by Berger's increased vote in Milwaukee. Repression by itself can never overcome unrest; evil conditions causing it must be remedied.

## Radical Protests

Bitter Attacks of Extremists Call Procedure a Violation of Rights of Free Speech Worthy of Czar

AGAINST the unanimous general opinion of the country supporting the deportations is an equally unanimous condemnation uttered by the radical organs of the I. W. W., of socialism and of the intelligentsia. Typical of the passion and wrath expressed by the more extreme papers is the following editorial from "The New York Call":

"In the name of 'law and order,' 249 'Reds' and 'radicals' of varying social, political and economic beliefs have been lawlessly deported by administrative process to Russia. We are confident that many of the deportees are happy to get away from the terrorism, the assaults and the imprisonments to which they have been subjected and that they will meet with tolerance at home. But these deportations, of which these 249 are the first, set a precedent which will make for a permanent policy.

### Cowardly Editors

"The upstarts who are guilty of these lawless proceedings and the reactionary journals that approve of them pay homage to the Constitution and the lawful processes it is supposed to guarantee to men and women charged with public offenses. They use the Constitution as a footstool and then tear a passion to tatters because of the contempt of 'radicals' for their concept of 'law and order.' If there are any anarchists in this country—using that word in its worst sense—they are to be found among these functionaries of the Administration and the cowardly editors who knife rights in the back while burning incense at the shrine of 'democracy.'"

More moderate in tone and conceding that even men of liberal opinion "find it hard to be patient with a man who insists that the state must be abolished," is "The New Republic," which none the less feels it to be its duty to oppose such deportations. Its argument is, in fact, as follows: "Under acts of Congress as they are

now interpreted and enforced by the Bureau of Immigration, and sustained in the lower Federal courts, any person who is not a citizen of the United States, however long he may have been a resident, however peaceable and law-abiding he may have been, may be summoned before an inspector of the Bureau of Immigration and subjected to an inquisition into his beliefs. He may prove that he has never advocated, and does not believe in, violence, disobedience to law, or active opposition to the government. He may be a non-resistant, a philosophic anarchist, a follower of Tolstoy and Kropotkin, he may never have taken a single active step toward bringing about the stateless millennium for which he yearns. Not for what he has done, not even for what he has publicly advocated, but for his private opinions as extracted in a governmental inquisition, he can be banished from the United States.

"He is entitled to no trial by jury in a court of justice. The usual safeguards of due process of law are denied him. Even the issue of his citizenship may be conclusively passed upon by the immigration inspector and his administrative superiors. The only jurisdiction the courts can exercise is through the mechanism of a writ of habeas corpus to ascertain that the immigration inspector gave the suspect a hearing, and the opportunity (generally illusory because of the suspect's poverty) of representation by counsel, that he did not misinterpret the law, and there was some evidence upon which he could act. . . .

### The Spirit of Fair Play

"Yet it is impossible to believe that the average American, brought up to believe that in this country if nowhere else opinions are free, accustomed to the spirit of fair play in judicial procedure, and with an ingrained test of czarist administrative methods, will in the long run tolerate such governmental outrages. If we do not repent and expiate the anarchist deportations and seditious prosecutions of 1919, as we repented and expiated the prosecutions under the alien and sedition laws of 1798, our national worship of liberty and due process of law will indeed have a hollow sound."

## Packers Yield a Famous Victory

UNSCRAMBLING the packers is a famous victory for Attorney General Palmer, but will the public benefit in lower prices? Probably not, according to the overwhelming note of editorial opinion. Even the extreme Democratic partisans, like "The New York Times," after praising the feat, caution the public not to be over sanguine of immediate drops in prices. Practically all

except, of course, in the field of public utilities. The packers' compromise may be necessary under a democratic system, since the people's official representatives cling to the policy of breaking up and otherwise preventing great combinations. In fact, this compromise may play an important part in the process of modifying the economic views of the country and causing such a change of policy that combinations or powerful corporations will be authorized and encouraged under sound government regulation."

Even more positive doubts are ex-

pressed by "The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin" (Rep.) applauds the victory and conceives that a real check has been administered to the monopolistic control of the American food market. It discusses the whole problem and its relation to socialism as follows:

"True, a great service to society may have been performed through the economies made possible by the efficiency of large-scale management. The story of the profitable utilization of the by-products of food animals by the concentrated packing industry reads like a romance. The humorous saying that everything in a pig was now made an article of commerce except the squeal had a basis in reality. The wonderful elimination of waste has been one of the remarkable achievements and services of this industry.

"Yet, if the food we eat, the soap we use, the leather we wear and numerous other necessities of everyday life are to be under the control of a few private industrial magnates on a tremendous scale, without effective competition, why should we any longer regard the industrial organization as 'free' or as consistent with individual initiative and liberty? Why damn socialism and chase its propagandists into the next town if we must live anyhow under a form of socialism privately conducted for private profit? This is the heart of the issue, and there is something to it besides the

mere question of cheapness of prices."

As for reducing prices, "The Republican" concedes that no such result is to be hoped for, and even discusses the possibility that the ultimate result upon prices may be to demonstrate the superior economy of combination.

A typical expression of Democratic opinion of the more extreme type is the following from "The Philadelphia Record":

"In inducing the big meat packers—Swift & Co., Armour & Co., Morris & Co., Wilson & Co., Inc., and the Cudahy Packing Company—to withdraw from all interests except those directly involved in the production of meat, poultry, butter, eggs and cheese, the government has scored a greater victory than many an Administration has been able to boast of. In the nearly eight years of Roosevelt occupancy of the White House he accomplished nothing of such vital importance to the average American, and there is nothing in the Taft régime to compare with it. But the much-maligned Wilson administration, besides winning the World War, to mention but one of its many feats, brings the packers to terms with less aid than General Leonard Wood would make in addressing a Sunday school on the burning lessons of patriotism."

## Last Hopes of the Beaten "Wets"

FEW, if any, prospects are claimed for the anti-prohibition forces, either of an oasis before the fatal 16th of January, or of some way of proving the Eighteenth Amendment to be unconstitutional. The Supreme Court's decision in favor of war-time prohibition proved a bitter disappointment to those who had been preparing to send huge stocks of liquor to the cities for a "wet" Christmas, or at least one final grand and glorious New Year's Eve, such as there used to be before the war.

It is felt to be more and more probable that, in the words of "The Los Angeles Times," "Bohemia is passing, whether for good or ill." Still, after the first shock, it was generally agreed that the Supreme Court was right, irrespective of the merits of prohibition itself. If the state of war was over, not only the prohibition act, but the other war-time acts, such as the Lever and the espionage bills, which have been extensively used recently, would have ceased to function.

Many other papers are content to leave the matter there, while some go further, to praise or blame

Congress, and to discuss the question: Has liquor any chance?

Those who approve of prohibition in itself urge that the ultimate gain will far offset losses in value of the liquor and in revenue to the government. If the saloon was a deterrent to efficiency and aid to the enemy during the war, asks "The Rocky Mountain News," why be anxious to let down the bars? Prohibition is not a sentimental but an economic issue. The days "when a man could carry his week's wages home in a liquid form under his hide and beat his wife as an appropriate end to a perfect day" are gone forever, thinks "The Arkansas Gazette." "John will be missed," says "The St. Paul Daily News," "as tuberculosis, smallpox or toothache if they were suddenly abolished." There will, of course, be some inconvenience at first, but that is only the "hangover" after our wet days, but, as "The Philadelphia Public Ledger" agrees, the miseries caused by drink were much worse.

But the "wets'" chief question is not who did it, but what can be done about it? The only possible chances are ratification of the peace treaty, which would leave a brief period be-

fore the fatal 16th of January, but time is flying; a successful attack on the amendment itself, and the loophole remaining in the fact that the Supreme Court did not decide what constitutes intoxicating liquor. "The Baltimore American" reminds that nothing has been decided as to the alcoholic content to be allowed; upholding war prohibition or constitutional prohibition does not establish the half per cent rate. "There is a loophole," agrees "The Philadelphia Inquirer," "for beer and light wines."

"What is an intoxicating beverage? Is it the right and duty of Congress to define it? If so, it is not difficult to anticipate that the question will be flung into politics hereafter. If one Congress can limit alcohol to one-half of one per cent, another can raise the limit to four or any other per cent within reason, can it not?"

"Public sentiment in the end will govern. If it decides that the country is better off without beer, Congress will acquiesce. If it wishes a four per cent beer and light wines, it will elect representatives to Washington who will proceed to authorize them. But it may be taken for granted that

the day of 'hard stuff' is gone forever."

If Congress should pass a resolution (such as the Knox resolution) declaring the state of war ended the President could sign it and declare demobilization at an end, says The New York Tribune. Time for this, however, has almost expired, and the principal question now concerns the possibility of overthrowing the amendment, an attempt now being made by that peculiarly independent state, Rhode Island. This attempt, according to "The Knickerbocker Press," is based on Article X of the Constitution, reserving powers not delegated to Congress to the states. But The New York Tribune argues that "We, the people," established the Constitution and have a right to amend it as we wish.

Judging from all this, the "wets'" chances are considered very slim. There may be a brief period before the 16th or possibly the 29th of January, but the amendment will stand, according to the general view, although the liquor supporters will probably fight a desperate legal battle until the bitter end.

### Temporarily Solid, Anyhow

## Railroads Must Be Returned—But How?

IT IS difficult to draw any definite conclusions from the public opinion of the country upon the railroad problems, save the basic one that there is apparently an overwhelming sentiment against public ownership of the Plumb plan type or any other type. Support for nationalization is confined to Mr. Bryan, Senator La Follette, the former labor supporters of the Plumb plan and the radical press of the country. Both Democratic and Republican papers are almost unanimous in demanding a return to private ownership. As "The Boston Herald" states this general attitude:

"The general public is far from being gratified with the results of government operation of the railroads up to date. It has watched deficits piling up; it has seen increasing inefficiency, the deterioration of rolling stock, tracks and plant, and a continuous practice of 'grabbing while the grabbing is good' on the part of different groups of employees. It has borne these developments with patience during the war and demobilization as a part of the necessary war burden, but to continue them for two years or more of peace, to promote the 'nationaliza-

tion' of the roads under the Plumb plan, would be too much.

"The hope of the railroads, of the national, industrial, business and public interests dependent upon them, and of the millions of Americans who have invested their savings in them, lies in their return to private management as soon as may be, under legislation allowing them to serve the nation efficiently, to repair deterioration, to compensate adequately all groups of their employees, and to earn a fair return upon their capital."

Between the two plans now embodied in bills—the Cummins bill, which has just passed the Senate, and the Esch bill, which the House passed some time ago—opinion has little detailed criticism to offer. It is recognized that the two bills must now be thrashed over at length in conference and that anything may result. A number of papers hope that the anti-strike feature of the Cummins bill will be preserved, but the opposition of labor is recognized as a powerful factor in the House.

An interesting comparison of the two bills is the following from "The Springfield Republican," whose high praise of Senator Cummins is echoed

in a number of other Democratic sources:

"The Cummins railroad bill has passed the Senate substantially as Mr. Cummins framed it, and this is a notable tribute to the Senator. He deserves credit for courageous innovations, whether or not they are wholly wise. To him go the chief responsibility and the credit for such radical changes in our railroad policy, if enacted into law, as a government guarantee of a minimum return on the private capital invested and the strengthening of weak roads with the surplus earnings of strong roads, compulsory consolidation of railroads into some twenty-five or thirty systems corresponding to as many transportation areas, Federal incorporation of the companies, a division of authority between the old Interstate Commerce Commission and a new Federal transportation board, and declaring strikes in interstate commerce unlawful.

"The House bill is much the more conservative, in that it leaves the old order existing before the war more nearly intact. By so much the House bill is less of a departure from the principles of private ownership. It permits consolidations of railroad, but it does not compel them. It does not create a new body to divide authority

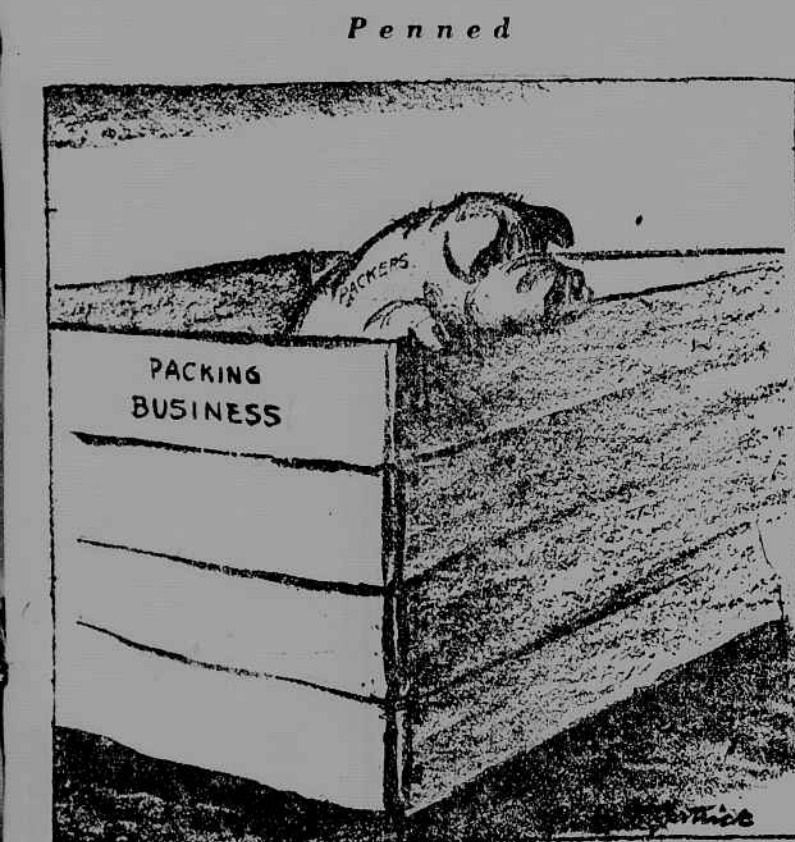
with the Interstate Commerce Commission. It leaves rate-making exactly where it was before the war. It does not guarantee a minimum return on capital to the railroad security holders. Because it is so conservative the House bill may be seriously defective, for the old system, according to the opinion of the foremost authorities, had broken down. In regard to credit, the railroads were being starved and their development impeded.

"The Cummins bill represents an effort, and a very skillful one, to combine the advantages of government ownership with the perpetuation of private ownership, although it is based on the assumption that government ownership is out of the question. Thus it goes far toward the consolidation of strong and weak lines; in rate-making it requires rates that will yield a 'fair' return, while the guaranteed minimum return amounts to the use of the government credit to insure privately owned railroads against underfeeding or bankruptcy, the weak and the strong roads being practically merged in the ample bosom of the government's financial power and resources."

In general there is astonishingly little discussion of the bills in detail, and, aside from the Plumb plan, no alternative presented.



—From The Philadelphia Evening Ledger.



—From The St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Republican opinion, most independent papers and a majority of Democratic papers, are frankly cynical of the whole proceeding. Says "The Chicago News" (Ind. Rep.):

"Time may prove that the whole theory of the Sherman act is unsound, as the late Colonel Roosevelt contended. Already there is practically no reason to doubt that the really effective preventive of the abuse of economic power and of potential monopoly is wise and fully adequate regulation, with representative of the government and the public in the directorates of dominating corporations. Faith in our anti-trust legislation has not yet been sufficiently shaken to admit of large scale experiments under the theory of controlled combinations,

expressed by "The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin" (Rep.), which fails to show similar unscrumbings in the case of the Tobacco Trust and the Standard Oil Company benefited the public:

"The Federal Trade Commission appears to have won a famous victory, but what good will come of it we cannot tell. To be sure, breakfast foods may now come into competition with pork products, canned fish and lobster can make faces at the bacon. The bogey of a food monopoly is laid low, but will the price of corned beef, for instance, be lowered as a result of the new order? That is the test which interests the average man."

"The Springfield Republican" (Ind.)